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7 February 1977

TRANSLATIONS ON EASTERN EUROPE
POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL, AND MILITARY AFFAIRS
No. 1349

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CZECHOSLOVAKIA

CSR DEPUTY PREMIER DESCRIBES ROLE OF NATIONAL COMMITTEES

Prague ZIVOT STRANY in Czech No 21, Oct 76 pp 15-16

[Article by CSR Deputy Premier Ladislav Adamec, member of the CPCZ Central Committee: The Communists and the National Committees]

[Text] "We are going into the elections with a realistic and concrete program discussed at the 15th congress of our party with the assistance and approval of all components of the National Front. It is a program that will not be implemented until some time after the elections. It is part of the day to day effort in workshops, fields, schools, scientific work places and wherever the struggle is being waged for its realization."

(From the presentation of Comrade Gustav Husak at the September session of the Central Committee of the National Front of the CSSR)

The program of the preelection period calls primarily for extensive political work among the masses by the party, the social organizations of the National Front and the national committees. Its principal objective is further intensification of the relations between the party and the workers and between the representative bodies and the voters. We have created favorable conditions for truly effective political education resulting from the achievements of the entire Fifth Five-Year Plan since the 1971 elections, from the 14th till the 15th party congress. The deputies and officials of the national committees are well aware that they can come before the citizens with a positive balance of work accomplished because the party -- its organs and organizations with the central committee at their head -- lent the activities of the representative bodies its support and assistance.

The communists were initiatively insisting on the adoption of such plans and programs which would best express the specification of society-wide tasks under local conditions. At the same time they insisted on the fulfillment of the promises which the deputies gave their voters and incorporated into the election platform of the National Front. The highly positive

attitude of the party organizations towards the efforts of the representative bodies further strengthened the leading role of the party and contributed markedly to the general development of life in cities and villages.

The communists, elected deputies in this election period, repeatedly had occasion to convince themselves how important the assistance was which they were getting from the party organization. It has again been proven that the greater the demands made on every communist by his basic organization the higher his level of public activities will be. This is in the last resort supported by the experience made in cities and communities where the political, educational, and organizational activity was highly developed and where the attitude towards society was expressed by concrete pledges, by voluntary participation in public meetings and by other actions.

Moreover, this experience applies not solely to this election period but remains topical also in the period following this year's elections. With the help of deputies the party organizations can also continue to intensify their own information gathering, management, organizational and ideologically educational role. They can fully implement the exacting control activity which is their right and duty. Here special demands are being placed also both on street and village organizations and on city and okres committees.

In selecting deputies it transpired that the procedure combining experience with youthful vigor is the correct one. This year long-term party officials are also being proposed for these positions, in addition to those who are only beginning to "gather" their first experiences in party work. We are hereby preserving not only the necessary continuity in the change of officials but also the necessary perspective of the activity of the representative bodies. This also constitutes one of the decisive conditions for the fulfillment of the election programs of the National Front.

It is correct that the mere birth of these basic documents for the development of cities and communities deriving from the resolutions of the 15th CPCZ Congress was accompanied by the widespread activity of the organs and organizations of the National Front under the leadership of the party. They were thoroughly discussed in basic party organizations during all preparatory stages as well as in okres and kraj committees. Taken together all this offers a guarantee of a harmony in their content and form and of meeting fully the needs of the entire society.

Our primary concern in the work of national committees is that they consistently observe the principle of unity of words and deeds. A program can only gain respect when it is sufficiently activating on one hand and enables the most pressing local problems to be solved on the other, while gradually improving conditions for a happy life.

For this reason election programs are conceived as open and at the same time comprehensive documents of the continued harmonious development of

cities and communities in the spirit of resolutions of the 15th CPCZ Congress. We want to show the people what we count on, what will be built and why, what areas of our life will undergo the most radical changes and mainly how we will potentiate the current impact of the political educational work. At first glance this may seem very simple, but those who share in this work can confirm that it caused many worries and was not always met with understanding in the past.

It happened here and there that we had to explain that election programs should not be confused with ideas of individuals suffering from delusions of grandeur. We have a rich and developed society, but we will never be powerful or rich enough to make all ideas come true overnight. Examples still occur of somebody proposing to start on a construction project whose realization is beyond local possibilities and resources and whose usefulness would be questionable even after it was completed. We must not forget that conditions for a happy life lie in the thoughtfulness with which we are implementing them. Because the actions promised by the election programs are not designed to serve for a year or two, but enrich permanently the living environment and become a source of joy.

Of course, restricting initiative and activity in our cities and villages is not and has not been at issue. We must never for a moment overlook or perhaps ignore the justified demands raised in different localities. The mission of the new election programs lies in higher forms of activation of the people and in the development of purposeful initiative where it is needed most. Because the purpose of initiative is not only to initiate large actions, as is still believed in some places. There is no doubt that equally important and more common is the spending of work brigade hours on the cleanup and upkeep of public places, the expansion of green areas and the building of simple facilities for sporting and recreational activities. This seemingly lowly work is unfortunately sometimes underrated.

Also the intentions of individual national committees in the investment part of the Z action must not be left to chance. We will have to pay greater attention than ever before to solving the situation created by the increase of population in our country. We need more nurseries, kindergardens, schools, youth groups, we need also playgrounds for children -- in short facilities so that mothers can return to work after a short maternity leave.

The active understanding of this social demand has born the first fruit. Two examples will serve for all the others. In building an eight-classroom kindergarden at Mlada Boleslav, the expenditure per classroom amounted to Kcs 982,000 -- a very valuable result in comparison with other similar construction projects. At Vrkoc in the Klatovy okres they counted on building a kindergarden in one year budgeted at around Kcs 1.5 million. They managed to shorten this already short time by 4 months.

Our citizens value most the national committee which not only proclaims good intentions but manages to fulfill them consistently and responsibly. Even the most carefully prepared election program is still only a program. The degree of success in mobilizing the activity and creative initiative of the people for its fulfillment will be the decisive factor. Also in future years our foremost goal will be to work with people, consult them, make use of all their good ideas and proposals, encourage their cooperation in the overcoming of obstacles and shortcomings which stand in the way of faster task fulfillment. Comprehensiveness was therefore stressed not only in the conception of the new election programs but also in the approach to them during their discussion. Full use was made of the experience gained in this election period. Also this time all components of the National Front and enterprises and plants, which are either being directly managed by national committees or which are under their jurisdiction, participated in their preparation and primarily in their implementation. An example of the correct approach is the North Moravia Kraj where more than 300 agreements between national committees and kindergarden construction enterprises participating in action Z are currently in force. In the current five-year plan the centrally managed organizations in the Klatovy okres are budgeting a total of Kcs 24 million for new nurseries and kindergardens. These facts carry great social and political weight. They not only allow bold election programs to be presented but enhance substantially the responsibility for their fulfillment. Because the results which are being achieved by the national committee are not only the concern of its deputies and officials but of all citizens living in a town or village.

Party organizations should induce national committees to mobilize all forces to fulfill the tasks deriving from the resolutions of the Sixth Five-Year Plan and from annual plans. At issue is both the investment and non investment part of action Z, the broad area of the local economy and the consistent overcoming of seemingly unimportant problems and impediments which, however, have a negative influence on peoples opinion of the organizational and managerial abilities of the national committee. Experience demonstrates that frequently good will and mutual understanding will suffice to remove many a shortcoming from our life -- correct fluctuations in the distribution of goods, poorly conceived public transport connections, unsuitable business hours in shops and service establishments etc.

A balance between the fulfillment of important economic tasks by national committees and the consistent overcoming of problems is one of the decisive methods of the implementation of the resolutions of the 15th party congress under local conditions. Frequently the approach chosen reflects the overall level of activity of the national committee and especially the principled way in which the leading role of the party is being implemented.

An important condition of success in the coming period is the healthy critical approach of deputies and officials towards their work. The need for

criticism and self-criticism stressed by the General Secretary of the Party Gustav Husak at the September session of the CPCZ Central Committee has nothing in common with the denigration of the hitherto doubtlessly very successful fulfillment of the election programs. It does not stem from the overlooking of the fruits of joint labor which are evident to the citizens at every step. Important, however, is that we do not close our eyes to shortcomings and that we do not try to find excuses for problems.

Even the 15th party congress pointed out that we sometimes are not successful in the political, educational and organizational work in large cities and new settlements. There are shortcomings in the consistency of our influence on attitudes and actions of the citizens. The reality is that some people only live here. They show little interest in the plans of the citizen committee, they frequently shirk from joint actions designed to improve the living environment or those of a clearly ideological educational nature. Many citizens believe they are living more or less anonymously in such a big collective and live consequently in selfish comfort.

Should we succeed in approaching such people and telling them clearly what we have in mind, what our goals are and where their help would be needed most, we would not only meet with understanding but also with concrete pledges. Through personal canvassing we discover how many capable organizers with skill and ideas we have in the settlement who can and want to share in our joint work. It is frequently simpler to approach those whom we already know and who have always helped. But as is frequently the case, the simplest way is not always the best.

This is born out also by the experiences of those national committees which the CSR government praised highly for the results achieved in socialist competitions. Many of them were already years ago among the first in the okres. But they were not satisfied and understood that in the long run it is not enough to be content with increasing the quality of work in one sector and were seeking other possibilities of discovering reserves. Proof of the success of their endeavor is that they gained kraj and finally national recognition. The CSR government expressed its recognition to many of these national committees repeatedly -- like for example to the ONV (District National Committee) in Prague 3 and Prague 7, to the MNV (Local National Committee) at Zlata Olesnice in the okres Jablonec and Nisou or the MNV in Uvalna in the Bruntal okres.

Many officials of these national committees will stress that youth is an important factor in the life of the community or town. Young people are proportionately represented in the representative assembly itself, they work in commissions and actively and adapt important parts of the program of their youth organization to the goals of the national committee. In such localities the national committee need not fear that its activity might diminish in the future. On the contrary, it is training successors for managerial posts in the organs of popular power and administration with great foresight.

The selection of candidates for the positions of deputies and the proposed election programs of the National Front are proof of the responsibility with which party organizations proceeded hitherto in the course of the preelection period. It demonstrates that there is a fertile field for the work of the representative bodies not only for the near future but for the entire next 5-year period.

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CZECHOSLOVAKIA

FIRST CZECHOSLOVAK GROUP PARTICIPATING IN COSMONAUT TRAINING

Prague ZEMEDLSKE NOVINY in Czech 23 Dec 76 pp 1, 2

[Article by Jaroslav Marsalak: "Our Boys in Star City"]

[Text] We have replaced the missing real sea with the celestial ocean. Since we could not have famous seafarers our people gained fame in all types of flying activities. They were among the first pioneers of aviation and the idea of cosmic flight. We have traditionally had outstanding aviators and an excellent aviation industry. We share importantly in space research through the Interkosmos program. It is therefore natural that we also long to have our own cosmonauts (indeed cosmonaut literally means one who sails through space.) Our great wish is already becoming reality. At this year's September conference Soviet specialists have offered participating socialist member states places among space ship crews. The first group of Czechoslovaks is already undergoing cosmonaut training.

A few months ago, our candidates for cosmic flights were still pilots of supersonic fighter planes. Now they live in the legendary Star City, 40 kilometers northeast from the center of Moscow. Each day they acquire new strong impressions.

The First Milestone

Star City with its 3000 inhabitants is surrounded by pine trees, fir and birch trees. The modern settlement with houses up to 10 stories high reminds us a bit of a spa. Blocks of buildings form a horseshoe around a giant square. The House of Culture--a large glass and concrete cube--stands a little to the side.

The House of Culture has a hall for 1000 people, meeting rooms, an exhibition hall, a library and other rooms. On the first floor is a cosmonaut museum. Yuriy Gagarin's study was transferred here as he left it on the day of his tragic death. Other rooms contain space suits and other mementos of memorable flights of Soviet cosmonauts. Also on exhibit are the approximately 3000 gifts the cosmonauts received at home and abroad.

The museum is visited by tours of Soviet people and foreign tourists. Therefore Star City does not hide from the world; it already entertained more than a few important statesmen and the American astronauts stay there occasionally. But Star City serves primarily the cosmonauts. It is the first milestone on the way into space.

Usually in the Morning

The cosmonauts live in two highrises. Early in the morning they meet in sports attire in front of one of them. A thorough warm-up exercise and run through the woods brings them to a covered swimming pool where they undergo a perfunctory medical examination and are weighed. Then they swim intensively for 10 minutes and dive from a diving board.

The road then leads through a avenue of trees to the so-called service part of the city with classrooms and training halls. The settlement is already busy at this time. Engineers, technicians, physicians, methodologists and other specialists hurry to laboratories, workshops and other places of work.

On their way to work the Czechoslovak cosmonauts meet new acquaintances. Before long they will know everybody passing through the avenue of trees in the same direction.

Children go to schools, women start on their shopping trips. Which school children, which women belong to cosmonauts they know? Our space flight candidates will find out when they start visiting families as is the custom here.

How Everybody Enjoys Himself

In the afternoon the sports area with the artificial lake comes to life. Star City engages a lot in sports. The cosmonauts like to compare their skill mainly in soccer and basketball. Since few teams measure up to their standard they prefer to play among themselves.

But some cosmonauts prefer to hunt or fish in their leisure time. The surroundings offer ample opportunity for it.

In the evening social life concentrates at the House of Culture. The vicinity of Moscow contributes to frequent performances by known artists. Star City also has its own music ensembles competing successfully in nationwide artistic contests.

The new hotel is another center of entertainment. The inhabitants of Star City certainly are not bored.

An Unusual Occupation

While the official name of the town--Gagarin's Cosmonaut Training Center--describes its mission, the romantic name is more widely used. Let us now visit the premises where the Czechoslovak pilots are being transformed into cosmonauts.

Some training center installations help raise the physical tolerance of the cosmonauts to difficulties which they will encounter in space flight. Centrifuges accustom them to multiple gravitational force, other apparatus train them to work under conditions simulating weightlessness.

Physicians are carefully monitoring the physical condition of the cosmonauts exposed to extraordinary stresses on their organism and are using tricks to discover the most hidden weaknesses. Only flyers fit in all respects are allowed into space.

Important is the training in training vehicles simulating spaceship flight.

They Will Become Flight-Deck Engineers

In the first international crews the experienced Soviet cosmonauts will always be in command, the cosmonauts from other countries will be flight-deck engineers. The training of our flyers is also oriented towards this goal. In addition they must master the most important operations in piloting the spaceship or the space station so they can replace the first pilot in case of need.

The future flight-deck engineer is becoming thoroughly acquainted with all spaceship mechanisms on true Soyuz and Salyut models. The Soyuz trainer has a device projecting orbital flight views in its cabin windows during flight; it enables the simulation of all possible situations which the ship can encounter.

The Volga trainer serves for communications training between the ship and the space station. In addition to the thorough mastery of everything a flight-deck engineer must know our cosmonauts will also be trained in working on some scientific research tasks. They will for example learn to operate apparatus for biological, physical or other experiments, photograph the Earth surface or the stars.

The Dolphin Encourages

Not far from Star City near the borough of Chkalovskoye the cosmonauts have an airbase. From there Valeriy Chkalov started in the thirties on his famous flight across the North Pole to America, currently cosmonauts are using it for jet plane training flights. From the Chkalovskoye airfield they take off for the Baykonur cosmodrome where a rocket is waiting to take them into space.

A welcome sight for our pilots was a meeting with the Czechoslovak L-39 Dolphin which proved useful in the preparation of Soviet cosmonauts. They can seat themselves behind the control lever of the training plane without retraining, every one of them has many hours of flight on the Dolphin behind him.

The Dolphin also encourages its countrymen to represent the CSSR in the best light.

Who Will Draw the Lot?

Together with the Czechoslovak flyers there are Polish and Hungarian space flight candidates in Star City. Citizens of the other socialist states will undoubtedly also soon be added to the first international cosmonaut contingent. All the candidates will compete for the honor of becoming the third cosmonaut country after the USSR and the United States.

The commander in charge of cosmonaut training General Shatalov (who himself was 3 times in space) is a great friend of Czechoslovakia. But sympathies will not decide about who will fly into space. Together with him all cosmonaut teachers and crew commanders have very exacting demands on the mastery of the cosmonaut profession.

But we trust that our representatives will be among the first international crew which will take off from the Chkalovskoye airfield for the Baykonur cosmodrome. Indeed, the celestial ocean replaces the sea for us.

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CZECHOSLOVAKIA

RECIDIVISM, ALCOHOL IMPORTANT FACTORS IN CRIME STATISTICS

Prague ZEMEDEL'SKE NOVINY in Czech 15 Dec 76 p 4

[Text] Prague (imj)-Recidivists continue to share importantly in committing the most serious crimes. According to the information supplied yesterday by Lt Col Jan Pleskanka from the Criminal Service Administration of the Czech Ministry of the Interior, recidivists committed 44 percent of the 9800 violent crimes committed this year [1976]. More than 4600 cases were committed under the influence of alcohol. Of 90 murders, criminologists failed to solve only 3; most were motivated by unsettled family conditions or disagreements between partners. In only eight cases of murder was robbery or sex the motive. Also the number of assaults and robberies decreased - four-fifths of 318 cases were solved. Recidivism manifests itself especially in cases of intended bodily injury committed frequently under the influence of alcohol which remains one of the serious problems of criminality.

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EAST GERMANY

CLASS-STRATA RAPPROCHEMENT THROUGH 'WORKER OF NEW TYPE' ANALYZED

East Berlin DEUTSCHE ZEITSCHRIFT FUER PHILOSOPHIE in German Vol 24 No 11, Nov 76 signed to press 3 Sep 76 pp 1326-1335

[Article by Dr Hans-Joachim Fieber and Franz Reichelt, Scientific Communism Department, SED Central Committee's Karl Marx Party College: "The Rapprochement of the Classes and Strata--A Sociopolitical Inevitability of Socialism." For related information see JPRS 67887, 9 Sep 76, TRANSLATIONS ON EASTERN EUROPE--POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS, No 1290, pp 19-35; and JPRS 68242, 19 Nov 76, No 1321 of same series, pp 13-24]

[Text] The rapprochement of the classes and strata is a step in the process that is bringing about men's complete social equality. The process that produces the worker of a new type first reaches its most complete form in the working class. It proceeds on the basis of the steadily deepening socialization of labor and production. This is an economically conditioned process which simultaneously, however, is also ruled by political-ideological factors that do not become automatically effective through scientific-technical progress.

The program requirements of the Ninth SED Congress, the 25th CPSU Congress and the party congresses of other fraternal parties in socialist countries are charging the Marxist-Leninist social scientists with the responsibility for still more intensively and comprehensively exploring the inevitabilities and exigencies of the developmental process of communist society for the purpose of elaborating alternatives for the solution of newly ripening economic, social, cultural and ideological tasks. This includes thorough investigations into the process of the social rapprochement of the classes and strata, as it is precisely this process which reveals to a significant extent the nature and advantages of socialism as well as the ever more strongly pronounced common features in the social development of the socialist countries.¹ This process of rapprochement, as the SED party program states, is a historically inevitable, important and long-range process.² Marxist-Leninist social science has paid much more attention to this problem in recent years.³

Marx, Engels and Lenin have repeatedly made the point that the goal in establishing the communist society lay in achieving men's full social equality, in the association of all round developed, creatively active producers. The rapprochement of the classes and strata is a developmental step on this path, as it were. Its purpose is the suspension of the social differences between the classes and strata and thus, eventually, the suspension of classes and social strata altogether. Lenin used a brief formula to express that idea: "Our aim is equality, in the sense of the abolition of the classes."⁴ This historically important social development is conditioned by a continuing process of qualitative growth on the part of the working class. Its political foundation lies in the dictatorship of the proletariat, in socialist state power and in the leadership role exercised by the Marxist-Leninist party, as its material foundation lies in the socialization process of labor and production. While comprehensively and realistically analyzing the state of social development reached in the GDR, and while setting down the requirements for the coming period as well as more long-range targets, the Ninth SED Congress presented fundamental pronouncements on the process of rapprochement of the classes and strata in the GDR. In terms of our own requirements, we wish to comment especially on the following aspects:

First: The GDR is entering "a new sector of its social development."⁵ Its essence is summarized in a concentrated form in the general line of "continuing in the GDR the shaping of the developed socialist society and thus creating preconditions for the gradual transition to communism."⁶ Characteristic of the new developmental sector is the ever more pronounced and increasing complexity of social processes. Complexity here means a harmonious development of the material-technical base and of the social relations among the classes and strata, a process of deepening socialist economic integration, a dialectic of socialism and communism. It thus has an overall social as well as a historic dimension.

If one wants to disclose fully, in its complete scientific and practical scope, the dialectic of socialism and communism, which was thoroughly explained at the Ninth SED Congress, one must deeply penetrate the interconnection among the laws that determine the whole process in the formation of communist society, the laws of socialism. One formative law of communism obviously lies in the molding of an all round developed individual. "Practice clearly demonstrates that communist type personality forms especially through the process of socialist labor."⁷ The labor process today, for all intents and purposes, is characterized by socialist intensification, which embodies an internal inevitability of socialism. Quality and efficiency factors, with respect to economic as well as social processes, stand in the center of attention. It is this precisely that announces the beginning of a new developmental sector of socialism. Accordingly, the dialectic of socialism and communism is reflected in the degree of maturity and in the growth requirements of the working class, the class of the cooperative farmers and the stratum of the socialist intelligentsia, in a new quality in the process of rapprochement, and in the fact that the nature of socialism as it is unifying and uniting the people stands ever more clearly revealed.⁸ It has been confirmed year after year that the policy introduced by the Eighth SED Congress fully conforms with social conditions in

the GDR. It enabled the SED "to mobilize those impulses and insure that stability and dynamics of progress which conform to the socioeconomic targets of the current period. The unity of economic and social policy is in line with the goal of socialism and must be further enforced onto life."⁹

Second: The most important processes of social rapprochement are proceeding between the working class and the cooperative farmers; between the urban and the rural working people; between the working people who are still primarily engaged in physical work (laborers and cooperative farmers) and those who are mainly doing mental work (intelligentsia); and between the social groups within the working class, the class of the cooperative farmers and the stratum of the intelligentsia. They are proceeding, as the SED program states, through the perfecting of the socialist production relations, the higher development of the productive forces in town and countryside, the perfecting of socialist democracy, the raising of the educational level, the increase of mental work in the reproduction process, and the further improvement in working and living conditions.¹⁰ That means that the rapprochement, for all intents and purposes, appears on the following social levels: (1) Gradual assimilation of positions vis-a-vis the means of production through the development and the rapprochement of the cooperative to the overall social form of socialist property. (2) Assimilation in the working conditions, the character and content of work. (3) Assimilation of the working people's technical and political state of education. (4) Rapprochement in income levels and prosperity through fully enforcing the performance principle and increasing basic social assets. (5) Molding of the creative activities, rich in initiatives, by the working people in the labor process as well as through their active participation in competition and in the innovator movement and also in the management and planning of overall social development. (6) Rapprochement of the working people in intellectual and cultural levels and in how they structure their leisure time activities. Thus the rapprochement of the classes and strata is seen to be a complex social process.

Third: While insuring the development of all domains of public life through its leadership activity, the Marxist-Leninist party also directs the rapprochement of the classes and strata. The decisive link in the chain here is the implementation of the unity of economic and social policy. The political direction of social rapprochement thus consists in that one will, while proceeding from the objectives, and from implementing the interests, of the working class, enforce the inevitabilities in the upward development and rapprochement of the classes and strata on the basis of the world-outlook and ideals of the working class in harmony with the overall social development, in focusing on the target, in the construction of socialism and communism. Leadership in the process of rapprochement thus is a part of the task of directing social development politically and in a complex manner.¹¹

When one wants to analyze the rapprochement of the classes and strata in its complexity, one must take account of and present the material-technical and social factors causing and defining this process, as well as those requirements that result from the international class struggle between socialism and imperialism and all this in their inseparable unity with respect to the

reciprocity between the classes and strata. The materialization of the rapprochement process thus calls for the careful study, development and molding of the reciprocal relations between politics, economics, ideology and organization.

In proceeding from what we have said up to now, we shall now say something about the formation process of the worker of a new type, looking at it from the point of the dialectic of socialism and communism. Therein is embodied, we think, the nature of the rapprochement of the classes and strata as a sociopolitical inevitability of socialism.¹² The process that forms the new type of worker mirrors the developmental process underlying communist society at large. In both processes the stages of maturation coincide. This means that the concept of the new type of worker must be understood under two inseparably connected aspects, that is, as a qualitative developmental process of the worker, first of all, in the sense of his class membership and then, second, in the sense of a worker during the higher phase of communism, no longer defined by class characteristics. As already suggested, the dialectic connection between the phases of communist society has been further elaborated, whereby any stereotype differentiation between socialism and communism could be opposed. It all comes down to the Marxist-Leninist doctrine on the development of economic society where it must be clear that developed socialism, due to a quality sui generis in all social structures and processes, figures as a total entity because of its coordinated and even development. Especially for uncovering the developmental processes of classes and strata it is essential that we proceed from a uniform socioeconomic foundation. In no other way can we understand how the communist type personality forms in parallel with the maturation stages throughout the development of communist society, through the class-strata rapprochement process, based on the public property in the means of production.

Our adversaries are opposing all this by ideas which -- while different in the arguments used -- ultimately aim at eternalizing class stratification and class division, at continued social inequality. For example, the main point in the book by D. Bell, "The Postindustrial Society," is the claim that social development in the progressive industrial states -- be they capitalist or socialist -- is governed today by "stressing higher education and creating a technical-academic class that is assuming the leadership in society, as was once characteristic, in industrial society, of the role of the skilled laborer. This trend of development," so says Bell, "is as vast as it is irreversible," and comes to this conclusion: "Actually the number of industrial workers is shrinking in every progressive industrial society more and more, when compared with that of the technicians and academicians, which opens new dimensions for the system of stratification in every society."¹³ Bell thus, first of all, arbitrarily reduces the working class to that segment which he calls "skilled laborer" and consequently ignores the steadily expanding and highly skilled part of the working class; he secondly defines the working class as more or less uneducated, as a class that exclusively, or almost exclusively, is engaged in manual labor; and thirdly he confines the working class to industrial labor, and so he can, since the working class nucleus is in fact recruited from industrial labor, aim his main thrust against what

in fact normally is the best organized, most disciplined and conscious, and the politically most experienced and tested part of the working class. After having explained the working class that way, Bell, through his polemics against Marxism-Leninism, comes to the conclusion that communism is "not the 'next' stage taking over from capitalism, but merely just one of several forms of industrialization."¹⁴ By his arbitrarily reduced definition of the working class in the sense of exclusively manual workers, Bell gets ready for other "conclusions" such as an alleged historic obsolescence of the dictatorship of the proletariat and of the Marxist-Leninist party.¹⁵

No doubt, the tempestuous development of the productive forces, in consequence of the scientific-technical revolution, is currently producing important social changes. What results these social changes will bring, however, largely depends on the production relations. It is typical of bourgeois ideologists, Bell included, that they tend to attribute central importance to property relations and absolutize the development of the productive forces. That, as a matter of fact, is the reason why bourgeois ideas -- such as the "post-industrial society" in the case here -- come down to attribute permanence to social inequality. Combining the advantages of socialism with the accomplishments of the scientific-technical revolution makes possible and necessary to produce a type of producer who enjoys a broad general education and has fine technical and scientific knowledge and who -- as can already be seen in the socialist countries -- arises out of the working class, quite in contrast to Bell's theses, embodying the prototype of a future producer no longer characterized by social differences. The scientific-technical processes referred to by Bell do not suggest an allegedly new stratification but will under socialist conditions -- which we shall further discuss in greater detail -- amount to the rapprochement of the classes and strata which, on the basis of public property and guaranteed by the political power of the working class, is already taking place today in the socialist countries.

The socialist socialization process starts with the elimination of the private ownership in the means of production. Initially this is a "formal" act of socialization which, nonetheless, forms the basis for abolishing the antagonisms between the classes and strata and the indispensable point of departure for the process of the real, socialist socialization of labor and production. The thus emerging overall social ownership in the means of production is, in its historic type, the uniform foundation for communist society as a whole, on which is based, and proceeds, the free and universal development of men. This context calls for attention to two problems of importance to a deeper understanding of the social rapprochement. First of all, the social rapprochement has to be still more thoroughly analyzed from the point of view that it is causally determined by the process of the socialization of labor and production. R. Kosolapov says: "As a reliable guide in this respect serves the law that Karl Marx discovered of the all round socialization of labor and production. The progressive socialization of labor and production, seeking its highest forms, plays the role, one may say, of the 'load-carrying' inevitability in the fateful history of socialism, and the working class acts as its live mass subject or mass mediator."¹⁶ This indicates the direction, we think, in which further Marxist-Leninist social science investigations could move.

Secondly it is a matter of a more accurate determination of the development of socialist property, and we do not understand this concept here merely as a legal category but as a process of the appropriation and reproduction of the conditions of production. "Property thus means," according to Marx, "originally -- and likewise in its Asian, Slavic, ancient and Germanic form -- the attitude taken by the working (producing) subject (or the reproducing one) toward the conditions of his production or reproduction as his own."¹⁷

The question as to how socialist property materializes has a central place value for the process of rapprochement. That is explicitly underscored by the Ninth SED Congress pronouncement on the developmental potentials of the cooperative property in the means of production.¹⁸

The rapprochement process, initiated in the transitional period, comes into its own with the shaping of the developed socialist society. That comes in connection with the transition to an intensively expanded reproduction, with the rapid improvement in economic efficiency, the steady increase of labor productivity and the emergence of qualitative criteria and index figures in all domains of public life. There emerges ever more clearly the reciprocal causal relationship between the material-technical, the economic and the social side of the rapprochement process. It would thus be one-sided, were one to make the further rapprochement of the classes and strata dependent exclusively on the enforcement of scientific-technical progress. And so the consistent continuation of the main task and the sociopolitical measures decided right after the Ninth SED Congress give practical expression to the account taken of the unity of economic and social progress as a principle in our party policy. The measures initiated aim at systematically molding the socialist character of labor, man's all round reproduction, especially his labor power, being insured by the reduction of heavy physical labor that may be detrimental to his health, at enforcing a systematic, differentiated elevation of the standard of living of the classes and strata, at solving the housing problem and effectively carrying out the socialist distribution relations. Not last the sociopolitical program aims at the further molding of socialist attitudes of thought and conduct, at the formation of socialist personalities. And so the sociopolitical measures affect the working people's increasing capabilities, further their activities and qualify them in creative and productive activity. Or, to put it more cogently: The steady improvement in working and living conditions is, on the one hand, the outcome of positive economic development and becomes, on the other, the condition for further economic boom. Thus the implementation of the main task appears as the integrating factor in enforcing economic and social progress. Special importance attaches to the steady development of the material-technical base,¹⁹ for it decisively determines what the production will be like and thus, the conditions and exigencies in the development of the working class, the class of the cooperative farmers and the social stratum of the intelligentsia as well as their rapprochement process. The unity of the material-technical and the social side appears here today in the organic connection between the achievements of the scientific-technical revolution and the advantages of socialism.

The connection between producing the material-technical base and the development of personalities is such that, on the one hand, the control over the modern technological production base, caused by the dynamic development of the productive forces, requires an all round developed worker personality. On the other hand, the development of the new type of worker is an indispensable prerequisite for economic progress. The importance of these processes lies precisely in the fact that they are no longer subject to theoretical explanations today but are making their appearances concretely, in the practical affairs of socialist society. Some sort of a yardstick in this connection is provided by the relationship between mental and physical work in material production. It turns out that in overcoming the essential differences between mental and physical work, we have evidently taken the first steps -- only the first steps, however -- in the GDR.²⁰ Even though overcoming these differences, as also those between town and countryside, is going to take a long time, the trend toward it is already becoming visible today. Here one finds the deeper causes for the historic superiority of socialism. It alone is in the position to create a type of producer who has a high level of culture, a fine general education and skilled vocational training, ultimately becoming a general social manifestation. The more the productive forces advance, the broader become the possibilities for men to engage in scientific-creative working methods. That can only be brought to realization in a society based on the public ownership of the means of production.

This objective process in the development of the new type of worker is inseparably connected with the working class and reflects its qualitative development.²¹ The dialectic of social development is such that under increasing working class influence the class differences are overcome in all aspects of public life.²² This is so because the working class -- under the leadership of the Marxist-Leninist party -- is the most progressive and socially most uniform class of socialist society. It is the conveyor of the sole scientific world-outlook, Marxism-Leninism. Based on the socialist production relations and through its intimate contact with large-scale industrial production, it embodies social progress, the unity between labor and power. Through its increasing social activities, the working class creates the main material conditions for its own higher development itself and, hence, the preconditions for surmounting the differences between the classes and strata. The process that molds the new type of worker thus first finds its perfect form in the working class. And there are two steps here which, we find, have to be differentiated qualitatively.

By establishing the political power of the working class and eliminating the private ownership in the means of production the working class in social terms gains the control over the labor process. Freed from exploitation, the worker now embodies a historically completely new type of producer. He belongs to the class in political control. In his production activities, however, he is for the time being still tied to the material-technical base taken over from capitalism. While the social organization of labor does change fundamentally, heavy physical labor must still be performed, and the worker is still subjected to the rhythm of the machine. With the changes in the material-technical base, through

mechanization and automation, conditions arise under socialist circumstances which now make it possible for the workers' direct activities to change step by step, for scientific-creative working procedures to develop, and for the proportion of mental work to go up. Socialist intensification has become the decisive link in the chain for all this.

The molding of the new type of worker thus proceeds on the basis of a steadily deepening socialization of labor and production. From our vantage point, that socialization process appears under two different aspects -- one socio-technical, one socioeconomic. Attention to the existence of these two aspects of the socialization process, principally the attention to the trend of development in the sociotechnical aspect, answers the question why material production in communism will be typified by complex automation, the change in labor and, thus, the all round mobility of the worker. The need for the change in labor and the all round mobility of the worker follows from the nature of large-scale industry. "If the change in labor," Marx writes, "can now be enforced only as an overwhelming natural law and with the blindly destructive effect of a natural law, running up against obstacles everywhere, large-scale industry, through its own catastrophes, turns the matter into a question of life and death of having to recognize rotational work and, thus, the greatest possible versatility of the workers as a general law of social production, and of having to accommodate its circumstances to the normal realization of that law. And so it becomes a matter of life and death to replace the monstrosity of a disposable labor population, kept in reserve for the benefit of changing capitalist exploitation needs, by an absolute disposability of men when labor requirements change, and to replace the partial individual, the mere conveyor of a social detail function, by the totally developed individual, for whom various social functions are interchangeable modes of activity."²³ At the moment that these "transformational ferments" are divested of their capitalist disguise, they become qualitative criteria of the new, communist form "the basic principle of which is the full and free development of every individual."²⁴ Labor rotation, that is, men transferring from one field of science, technology and production to another, thus is an objective requirement for the development of the productive forces or, as Marx said, "a general law of social production." Its effect is closely connected with the suspension of the old social division of labor.²⁵ In a sociopolitical respect, this process expresses itself in the qualitative development of the working class, in the rapprochement between the working class and the socialist intelligentsia, that is, in surmounting the essential differences between physical and mental work.

The synthesis between physical and mental work must, however, not be understood as if it were a mechanical combination of the positive sides of the labor process of the working class with the positive sides of the working process of the intelligentsia. This synthesis, rather, leads to a new quality of the position of the working people in the production process. Proceeding from the diversity in the nature of the processes making for social homogeneity, V. S. Zemyonov is right, we think, when he comes to the conclusion "that the newly forming position of the working people, while being a new social phenomenon, a new social quality, yet is not simply an 'arithmetic sum' of previously known

magnitudes. It would therefore be inaccurate and wrong to say that the outcome of the rapprochement under way between the progressive workers and the intelligentsia gives rise to worker-intellectuals. The rapprochement leads to more than that. It leads to something higher, something qualitatively novel. The development toward the social homogeneity of society thus does not mean turning all working people into workers or intellectuals, nor does it mean the creation of an 'arithmetic' structure called worker-intellectuals. Rather, it amounts to a new social position of the working people in society, the essence of which lies in their social unity, their social homogeneity."²⁶

To the extent that, through the mechanization and automation in the material activities of the working people, the differences between physical and mental work tend to be surmounted in the labor process, as also, and especially, the differences between industrial and agricultural work were surmounted through industrialization in agriculture, and as the development of science into an immediate productive force combines the activities of the intelligentsia ever more closely and diversely with material production, this new type of worker becomes characteristic of all society. He is a man who, having a fine education and a great sense of responsibility, consciously works for society in industrial installations. He combines the best characteristics of the working class and those of the other working people. His embodiment can be found today, for example, in such worker personalities as K.-H. Huebner, excelling in traits and attitudes which Lenin summarized by saying: "Communism begins where plain workers in a selfless way, coping with hard work, become concerned about increased labor productivity, about protecting every pood of grain, coal, iron and other products from which not the workers themselves, or their kin, benefit personally but 'strangers' do, that is, all society in its entirety."²⁸ It is a process, let us reiterate, which is conditioned economically; ultimatley it depends on material conditions. At the same time, however, it is also conditioned by political-ideological factors that do not automatically become effective through scientific-technical progress. Only through the development of all sides of public life will the conditions be created in the future for the development of men's creative abilities, for their ever richer spiritual and cultural life. As all Marxist-Leninist parties in the socialist community of states, the SED therefore has proceeded and does proceed from the inseparable connection between economics and the solution of the sociopolitical tasks.

We have looked at the process of the molding of the new type of worker which, for all intents and purposes, embodies the rapprochement process as a sociopolitical inevitability of socialism, from the vantage point of the qualitative development of the working class. A broad field for intensive research opens here, in our view, especially in two regards. First, the way in which we are looking at the genesis of the new type of worker should be completed by another look that would be organically connected with ours and complement it. It would concern itself with the effects resulting from the development of all classes and strata. Secondly, there is an ever stronger need for disclosing the reciprocal interrelations between quantitative and qualitative processes regarding the rapprochement process since, we think, at the present developmental stage of socialist society, qualitative processes are assuming more and more priority.

FOOTNOTES

1. Cf. E. Honecker, "Bericht des Zentralkomitees der Sozialistischen Einheitspartei Deutschlands an den IX. Parteitag der SED" (SED Central Committee Report to the Ninth SED Congress), Berlin, 1976, p 14.
2. Cf. "Programm der Sozialistischen Einheitspartei Deutschlands" (SED Program), Berlin, 1976, p 39.
3. Cf., among others: P. N. Fedoseyev, "Topical Social Science Problems," KOMMUNIST, No 5, 1975; R. I. Kosolapov, "Methodological Problems in the Theory of Developed Socialism," PROBLEMS OF PEACE AND SOCIALISM, No 9, 1974; G. J. Gleserman, "Der historische Materialismus und die Entwicklung der sozialistischen Gesellschaft" (Historical Materialism and the Development of Socialist Society), Berlin, 1973; M. Loetsch, "On Working Class Social Structure," "Soziologische Probleme der Klassenentwicklung in der DDR" (Sociological Problems of Class Development in the GDR), Berlin, 1975; M. Rutkevich, "The Social Structure in Developed Socialist Society," PRESSE DER SOWJETUNION, No 17, 1974 and No 32, 1975; W. Schneider, "On the Development of Class Relations in the Further Shaping of the Developed Socialist Society in the GDR," WISSENSCHAFTLICHE BEITRAEGE DER PARTEIHOCHSCHULE "KARL MARX" BEIM ZK DER SED--THEORIE UND PRAXIS, No 2, 1976; V. S. Semjonov, "The Assimilation in Social Position by the Working People in the USSR," GESELLSCHAFTSWISSENSCHAFTEN, Moscow, No 3, 1975; R. Weidig, "The Development of the Working Class and of Personality in the Shaping of Developed Socialist Society in the GDR," "Soziologische Probleme der Klassenentwicklung in der DDR," op. cit.
4. V. I. Lenin, "All-Russian Congress for Extracurricular Education," "Werke" (Works), Vol 29, Berlin, 1961, p 347.
5. E. Honecker, op. cit., p 6.
6. "Programm . . .," op. cit., p 9.
7. E. Honecker, op. cit., p 130.
8. Concerning the stage of development reached, cf. "Programm . . .," op. cit., pp 36 f; H. Sindermann, "Bericht zur Direktive des IX. Parteitages der SED zum Fuenfjahrplan fuer die Entwicklung der Volkswirtschaft der DDR in den Jahren 1976 bis 1980" (Report on the Ninth SED Congress Directive on the Five-Year Plan for the Development of the GDR Economy, 1976-1980), Berlin, 1976, p 8, pp 12 ff; "Direktive des IX. Parteitages der SED zum Fuenfjahrplan fuer die Entwicklung der Volkswirtschaft der DDR in den Jahren 1976-1980" (Ninth SED Congress Directive on the Five-Year Plan for the Development of the GDR Economy, 1976-1980), Berlin, 1976, pp 11 f.
9. E. Honecker, op. cit., p 31.

10. Cf. "Programm . . .," op. cit., p 39.
11. Cf. ibid.
12. The discussion of these problems was principally initiated by Soviet writings in the early '60's. One can still find conceptual differences in it on the subject under investigation. L. I. Brezhnev, in his speeches at the 15th USSR Trade Union Congress in 1972 and at the 17th Comsomol Congress in 1974, explicitly pointed to more thorough research into the ever more pronounced processes of this qualitative development of the working class appearing in the practical realm in the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries and described essential characteristics and features of the new type of worker. In consideration of the fact that this process becomes visible, causally and, above all, in the process of growth, we shall henceforth use the concept "new type of worker."
13. D. Bell, "Die nachindustrielle Gesellschaft," Frankfurt/Main, 1975, p 16. German translation of "The Postindustrial Society," New York, 1975,
14. Ibid., p 79.
15. Cf. ibid., p 16.
16. R. I. Kosolapov, op. cit., pp 1221 f.
17. K. Marx, "Principles of the Critique of Political Economy," Berlin, 1974, p 395.
18. Cf. E. Honecker, op. cit., p 64.
19. Communist society has a uniform, developing material-technical base shaped by qualitative stages of maturation. We are using the concept of material-technical base as defined in the Soviet textbook "Scientific Communism ("Wissenschaftlicher Kommunismus," Berlin, 1973, pp 335 f.).
20. Cf. R. Weidig, op. cit., pp 50 f.
21. In the Soviet Union these processes have evidently advanced the farthest. "A new social stratum has grown up within the working class of the USSR in recent years the members of which unite in themselves the best qualities of the working class and of the intelligentsia. The intellectual workers form the vanguard of the working class. Already workers are running production units that are so large and complicated that formerly not every engineer could do so. And it is inevitable that such a worker, as far as the level of his thinking goes, hardly differs from the personnel of the engineering and technical service. For in order to operate complicated aggregates and to set up assembly lines and automatic data processing equipment, and to control them, a worker has to have as much of a general education and specialized knowledge as a technician or even an engineer." (V. Kuznechevski, "New Developmental Tendencies of the Soviet Working Class," SOZIALISMUS--THEORIE UND PRAXIS, Moscow, No 5, 1976, pp 79 f).

22. Cf. *ibid.*, p 80.
23. K. Marx, "Das Kapital," Vol 1, Marx/Engels, "Werke," Vol 23, Berlin, 1962, pp 511 f.
24. *Ibid.*, p 618.
25. Cf. W. G. Marachow, "Struktur und Entwicklung der Produktivkraefte in der sozialistischen Gesellschaft" (Structure and Development of the Productive Forces in Socialist Society), Berlin, 1972, pp 169 ff; W. Schneider, "On the History of the Theory of Scientific Communism--Karl Marx, Friedrich Engels and V. I. Lenin on the Nature and the Phases of Communist Society. Part I," in "Lectures and Writings" published by the SED Central Committee's Karl Marx Party College, Berlin, 1972, pp 110 ff; N. K. Tjapkin, "Die kommunistische Organisation der gesellschaftlichen Arbeit" (The Communist Organization of Social Labor), Berlin, 1973, pp 102 ff.
26. V. S. Semyonov, "The Dynamics of Social Processes Under the Conditions of Developed Socialism," VESTNIK MOSKOVSKOGO UNIVERSITETA--TEORIYA NAUCHNOGO KOMMUNISMA, No 3, 1972, p 14.
27. Cf. H. Tisch, "The Purpose of Socialism Governs Our Work," NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, 21 May 1976, p 4.
28. V. I. Lenin, "The Great Initiative," "Werke," Vol 29, Berlin, 1961, p 417.

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KULAGA STRESSES NEED FOR MILITARY DÉTENTE

Warsaw NOWE DROGI in Polish No 12, Dec 76 pp 70-79

[Article by Eugeniusz Kulaga: "Peace, Security, and Disarmament"]

[Text] There is no more important and urgent task today than that of ensuring lasting peace and the freeing of mankind from the threat of war. Achievement of this task demands vigorous efforts aimed at halting the arms race and transitioning to genuine disarmament. This task is one of the basic priorities of the foreign policy of the socialist nations, including Poland -- priorities which have been strongly emphasized in recent days in the Declaration of the Bucharest Conference of the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Pact member nations. It states: "A halt to the arms race and disarmament, particularly nuclear disarmament, as well as elimination of the threat of a world war continue to be the most burning and urgent tasks of the present day. Without this it is impossible to impart a genuinely irreversible character to positive trends in the development of international relations, and it is impossible to ensure genuine world security."*

This formulation is fully in conformity with the convictions and aspirations of our people and nation.

"Essential at the present time," states the resolution of the Seventh Congress of the PZPR [Polish United Workers' Party], "in particular is an extension of détente to the area of the military and the taking of realistic steps toward halting the arms race, in the direction of disarmament."

The importance and urgency of taking constructive steps in this direction are determined by basic political, social and economic factors. These

* This article was written prior to the Bucharest Conference, and therefore the author was unable to present an extensive discussion of the Declaration, which we shall discuss on the pages of NOWE DROGI (Ed.).

actions constitute a basic condition for deepening and consolidating the process of political détente. A continued, unchecked arms race can not only threaten the development of this process but also undermine achieved results.

The enormous arsenals of arms which have been amassed as well as the unabating arms race constitute a real threat to the security of all nations. We are experiencing a revolution in military hardware and techniques resulting from rapid advances in science and technology. The continuing arms race is becoming an increasingly heavy burden, which is hindering and impeding meeting the vast development needs of today's world.

People are becoming increasingly aware of the need to achieve a basic turnabout in this area. Of immeasurable importance is the fact that recently realistic preconditions have arisen for achieving significant advances on the road toward military détente and disarmament. Significant changes have taken place in the balance of power, one of the expressions of which has been recognition of a Soviet-American nuclear strategic parity. Political détente, an important, dynamic stage in which was the Helsinki Conference, is increasing the possibilities of disarmament talks and is objectively increasing the prospects for their success.

Increasing pressure is being applied in the direction of taking urgent steps in the area of disarmament. It is a pressure of time. It is a pressure of political forces which are influencing in a fundamental manner the directions of development of international politics. A particular expression of this is the document issued at the Berlin Conference of European Communist and Worker Parties, which outlines a broad program of steps in the area of disarmament and which calls upon all to assist in implementing this program. Aiming in the same general direction are the resolutions of the conference of nonaligned nations in Colombo, although they sometimes proceed from somewhat different positions and point out other paths leading to the same goal.

The pressure of social forces is also becoming broader and stronger. The Second Stockholm Appeal and the worldwide campaign being conducted around this appeal, as well as the World Conference of Social Forces, urging a halt to the arms race, disarmament and détente, held in Helsinki in September of this year, are a clear example of this.

There consequently exists not only an urgent necessity but also favorable conditions for changes achieved in the political situation, on a global and regional level, to be followed by corresponding steps in the military area. In other words, for the gap between the achieved level of political détente and the military situation, which is characterized by continuation of the arms race, to diminish, to be gradually eliminated. Working in this direction, we must make maximum use of objective preconditions existing in this area and must steadily consolidate favorable subjective preconditions.

At the same time one should realize that in spite of more favorable conditions, progress on the road of military détente and disarmament does not take place automatically. It can only be the result of consistent efforts. As was stated by Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Polish People's Republic Stefan Olszowski during the general debate at the 31st Session of the UN General Assembly: "Putting an end to the arms race is the concern of peoples and the responsibility of governments."

Poland's deep commitment to efforts aimed at military détente and disarmament proceeds from the essence of our system, from a foreign policy the main goal of which is peace and international security. In our activities we combine the broad interests of world security with the interests of the security of our country and the entire community of socialist nations.

We have won broad international recognition through activeness and initiative, particularly in the areas of security and disarmament in Europe. Many Polish initiatives have enriched the content of international talks and have even served as an example of solutions in other parts of the world (for example, the idea of nuclear-free zones). A number of initiatives have been partially adopted (for example, within the framework of the nuclear arms nonproliferation agreement) or are currently the subject of international talks (negotiations pertaining to reduction of forces and arms in Central Europe, banning of chemical weapons).

In view of Poland's most urgent problems and immediate interests, we are concentrating our efforts particularly on such matters as reduction of the level of military confrontation in Central Europe, securing of an effective system of nuclear arms nonproliferation, and banning of chemical weapons and new types of weapons of mass destruction.

Our efforts toward disarmament are based on close cooperation and a political, economic, ideological and defense community with the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries. These actions involve a number of measures aimed at achieving a lasting peace and guaranteed security by elimination of dangers proceeding from the present military situation, checking and limiting of the arms race as well as gradual reduction of current military forces and arms, a reduction the ultimate goal of which should be universal and total disarmament.

These are difficult problems. They pertain to the most sensitive political area of each nation -- the problems of its security; they are linked with increasingly complex technical problems; they are influenced by old habits of thinking and ideas about building security on a "balance of fear." Up to the present time the principal opponents of disarmament -- reactionary and cold-war forces as well as military-industrial establishment circles seeking further escalation of the arms race -- are still effectively blocking solution to these problems.

* * *

Efforts up to the present time to achieve military détente and disarmament have not been entirely fruitless. They have resulted in a dozen or more international agreements -- multilateral and bilateral -- which first and foremost impose certain limitation on the arms race. They can be subdivided into several groups.

The first group establishes restrictions of a spatial character. It includes the treaty banning military activities in the Antarctic (1959), the treaty dealing with activities by nations in space (1967), which prohibits the placing of mass destruction weapons in earth orbit, on celestial bodies or the conduct of other forms of military activities in space; the treaty prohibiting the deployment of mass destruction weapons on the sea and ocean floor (1971); the nuclear arms nonproliferation agreement (1969), and the agreement prohibiting nuclear weapons in Latin America (1967). Poland, other than the regionally-restricted agreement pertaining to Latin America, is a party to all the above-listed agreements.

Treaties which have placed quantitative limitations on the arms race are for the most part Soviet-American agreements reached in the framework of the strategic arms limitations talks -- SALT (1972). They specify restrictions in the area of ABM systems as well as in certain categories of offensive strategic weapons.

The group of international agreements imposing certain limitations in the area of qualitative development of the arms race includes the following: the agreement on prohibition of nuclear weapons testing in the atmosphere, space and under water (1963), to which Poland as a party, as well as bilateral Soviet-American agreements on partial banning of underground testing -- both for military and peaceful purposes (1974 and 1976).

This group also includes a convention prohibiting the testing, manufacture and stockpiling of bacteriological weapons and toxins (1972). Providing simultaneously for the destruction of bacteriological weapons and toxins possessed by nations, it is a disarmament agreement in the strict sense of the term, that is, requiring the physical elimination of a specified category of weapons. Poland is also a signatory to this agreement.

An agreement at the beginning of September of this year on a draft convention banning the use of devices which modify the environment for military and hostile purposes suggests that the group of treaties and agreements imposing qualitative limitations may be joined by a new and important international agreement. Working in the same direction are talks on banning chemical weapons, in which Poland has been particularly active, as well as Soviet-initiated efforts to prohibit new types and systems of mass destruction weapons.

Agreements aimed at putting an end to the danger of nuclear war constitute an additional category of agreements in the area of the broadly-encompassed

problem of military détente and disarmament. This category includes a number of Soviet-American agreements, including: a significant agreement on prevention of nuclear war (1973), an agreement on means to lessen the danger of outbreak of nuclear war (1971), agreements on establishment (1963) and improvement (1971) of a direct line of communication, the so-called hot line, between Moscow and Washington. Supplementing these is a Soviet-French agreement on establishment of a "hot line" (1976).

Related to this last group of agreements in this area are the Helsinki Accords, which pertain to so-called means of building trust. They call for notification of large-scale military maneuvers and inviting observers to view maneuvers, as well as the possibility of undertaking other means aimed at increasing trust, including sponsoring the exchange of military visits.

Pursuant to these provisions, there has been an exchange of a dozen or more notifications on military maneuvers held by the nations of the Warsaw Pact, NATO, and European neutral countries, as well as a number of invitations to observe these maneuvers. An example of implementation of these provisions is notification of the "Shield 76" exercise recently held in Poland, as well as an invitation to attend this exercise by observers from Austria, Finland, Sweden, as well as a NATO member nation -- Denmark.

We are also developing the practice of exchange of military visits with many different countries. We would welcome with satisfaction a situation in which formal implementation of the Helsinki Accords in regard to means of building trust by the NATO nations were accompanied by a reduction in the intensity of military exercises conducted by these countries. The sum total of all the above-listed agreements and measures taken in the area of disarmament and military détente presents a picture of certain real achievements. These results, however, are as yet unsatisfactory in relation to the needs of today's world. It is for this reason that, jointly with the Soviet Union and the other socialist nations, we are applying every effort to ensure that disarmament discussions and negotiations presently being conducted result in new and significant agreements.

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The fact that disarmament talks are being conducted in a businesslike manner and in parallel at several levels is a positive sign.

Soviet-American strategic arms limitations talks (SALT) occupy a special place in these efforts. Their significance for other areas of disarmament negotiations is obvious. This significance goes beyond the area of the military, influencing in an important manner the aggregate of relations between the USSR and the United States, and therefore the international situation in general.

The principal objective of the present talks, which are usually designated as SALT-II, is the establishment of ceilings for the categories of Soviet and U.S. offensive nuclear weapons, in conformity with the general principles laid down by CPSU Central Committee General Secretary Brezhnev and U.S. President Ford in Vladivostok in November 1974.

For some time now there have been occurring difficulties in these talks of both a political and technical character. The political difficulties are being caused chiefly by resistance on the part of the U.S. military complex, which is finding it difficult to accept Soviet-American strategic balance and to give up their insane aspirations to disrupt this balance. On the other hand, the technical difficulties are connected primarily with the matter of defining strategic arms categories and extending the limitations to newly-developing weapons. In spite of this, both sides are interested in securing continuation of this forum for negotiation as well as the positive results of these talks. Poland is also interested in the success of these talks, which are of fundamental importance for improving the climate of the international situation and which constitute one of the key elements in Soviet-American relations as well as East-West relations in general.

They should lead to shifting the correlation of forces existing in this region -- a correlation which represents a general balance -- to a lower level, without detriment to the interests of security of any nation. Therefore the principal obstacle in the way toward agreement is a desire on the part of the NATO nations to change the existing correlation of forces, expressed in the demand for so-called asymmetrical reductions, considerably greater reductions on the part of Czechoslovakia, the GDR, Poland, and the USSR, as well as rejection of the just and fair principle of equal-percentage reductions proposed by us.

The difficulties of these negotiations also proceed from an effort on the part of the NATO member nations to limit future reductions exclusively to ground forces. A certain modification of their position in the direction of including in first-stage reductions a certain portion of U.S. nuclear weapons and delivery means does not apply to means of delivery located within the reduction zone in the hands of other Western nations. Nor does it represent an adequate response to the proposal submitted by the socialist nations to reach an agreement on a reduction program encompassing all ground and air forces located in the zone as well as their armament, including nuclear weapons. In addition, this limited nuclear arms reduction proposal remains an integral part of the Western draft asymmetrical reduction proposal.

Substantial difficulties are also arising from efforts on the Western side to leave open the matter of timetable and scope of the second stage of forces reduction, which would apply to all Western nations other than the United States.

One of the fundamental problems of the talks is the matter of the character of future commitments. The demand presented by the NATO member nations that national reduction and postreduction commitments proposed by the Warsaw Pact nations be replaced by collective, so-called bloc commitments, offers individual countries the possibility of evading reduction and even increasing their forces in case of more substantial reductions by another nation within the same group.

The above-mentioned basic political difficulties of the Vienna talks of course do not represent a full list, since we have not mentioned a number of existing technical difficulties -- arising due to the large number of participating nations, the heterogeneity of military forces and arms concentrated in central Europe, as well as the differing structure of military forces and arms of the Warsaw Pact and NATO nations deployed in this region.

In spite of all the difficulties, the Vienna talks are viewed as a continuing, essential element in building an effective system of European security. Evidence of continuing interest in these talks is the fact that none of the governments and none of the major opposition parties in the Western European nations, in the United States and Canada question the need for continuing them.

In the talks held up to the present time the socialist countries have shown considerably greater activeness and on numerous occasions have offered proof of their constructive and flexible position as well as their desire to reach an early agreement. The proposals they have presented pertain both to important aggregate reductions and initial limited solutions, including a freeze on forces in the zone of future reductions while talks are in progress. In the first half of 1976, in February and June, they took two additional important steps as a compromise with important elements of the Western position and aimed at achieving progress in the negotiations.

Further progress in these talks depends at the present time primarily on adoption of a more constructive position by the NATO countries, and particularly by the Western European countries participating in the talks.

The Vienna talks are difficult and complicated. This does not signify, however, the absence of businesslike discussion or a total lack of progress. We believe in the success of these talks. Their positive results should constitute not only a stimulating and dynamic factor promoting the process of political détente but also disarmament measures on the scale of Europe as a whole. As the document issued at the Berlin Conference states, Europe "can and must become an example of practical implementation of steps aimed at détente in the military area."

The UN as well as the Disarmament Committee Conference in Geneva represent another level of arms talks. The Disarmament Committee, which in recent years has gone through a period of certain stagnation, has once again achieved significant results in the most recent summer session. These

results are expressed primarily in agreement on a draft convention prohibiting the use of devices which modify the natural environment for military or hostile purposes. This draft was submitted for debate at the current session of the UN General Assembly.

The Committee also initiated a businesslike discussion on banning new types of mass destruction weapons and new mass destruction weapons systems. The initiation of talks by the USSR and United States pertaining to preparing in the Committee a joint initiative in regard to a partial ban on chemical weapons, that is, the most lethal types of chemical agents, offers hope for some progress in an area which has been on the Committee agenda for a number of years. This should not, however, lessen our efforts to achieve the total banning and elimination of chemical weapons.

Significant obstacles still block implementation of the Soviet proposal to establish a total and universal ban on nuclear weapons testing. A formal obstacle is the U.S. demand for on-site inspection, in spite of the capability to detect even low-yield nuclear explosions with technical means located on the territory of the monitoring country.

One important factor which is making difficult the establishment of a universal and total ban on nuclear weapons testing is the negative position taken by some nuclear powers toward acceptance of any formal pledges in this area. We might note, however, France's decision to conduct nuclear testing exclusively underground, which in fact signifies French acceptance of the provisions of the Moscow agreement prohibiting testing in the atmosphere, under water and in space. At the present time only China remains in opposition, both formally and in substance, to this agreement.

We proceed from the position that disarmament, just as peace and security, is the business of all nations. Therefore, jointly with all other socialist nations, we strongly support the early convening of a World Disarmament Conference. It would be a continuation of a series of conferences pertaining to the most important global problems, and on the basis of its rank and the significance of its resolutions, it would provide a major impetus to the cause of disarmament and would make it possible to achieve a major breakthrough in this area.

A special session of the UN General Assembly should constitute an important introductory forum for examination of the entire aggregate of problems of disarmament as well as for determining practical means and methods of achieving more rapid progress in this area. It should play an important role in leading to the convening of a World Disarmament Conference.

Completing our survey of principal activities aimed at military détente and disarmament, we should point to the serious problem of increasing danger of nuclear arms proliferation. The increasing possibilities of securing nuclear weapons are arousing increasing concern. We are fully aware of this danger and are actively participating in efforts to prevent it.

They are connected first and foremost with a determined effort to achieve universalization and securement of total effectiveness of the nuclear arms nonproliferation treaty, one of the most important agreements of the nuclear age, as well as consolidation of an international system of guarantees and controls eliminating the possibility of additional nations obtaining nuclear weapons.

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The problem of disarmament and military détente will without question remain one of the principal negotiation areas in coming years, on a global, regional and bilateral level. It will also remain as one of the principal areas of the political struggle waged by the socialist countries, which will play a leading role in it due to their commitment and numerous initiatives.

Clear evidence of the special status of the problem of disarmament in Soviet foreign policy as well as the highly constructive position of the USSR is the Soviet Government Memorandum submitted to the 31st UN General Assembly Session pertaining to putting a halt to the arms race and to disarmament.

In this memorandum the Soviet Government appeals to all UN member nations to step up efforts aimed at resolving this greatest and most serious problem of contemporary international relations. At the same time, based on an analysis of the political and strategic situation as well as trends and prospects of its further development, it specifies the most important areas of effort to achieve a gradual solution to this problem. They include, in the opinion of the Soviet Government, first and foremost efforts in the following directions: a halt to the nuclear arms race, reduction and subsequent elimination of nuclear weapons; a ban on nuclear weapons testing; strengthening of the conditions of nuclear arms nonproliferation; a ban on as well as destruction of chemical weapons; a ban on developing new types of mass destruction weapons as well as new mass destruction weapon systems; reduction of military forces as well as conventional arms; establishment of peace zones in the Indian Ocean and in other regions; reduction of military budgets. Also emphasized was the need to create opportunities to discuss the entire aggregate of disarmament problems by all nations in a forum empowered to reach effective decisions, that is, at the above-mentioned World Disarmament Conference.

This is a broad program of actions, expressing the most urgent needs, both long-range actions and steps which can be taken in the immediate future, a program the implementation of which is essential in the interests of peace and international security. Specifying in the memorandum the most urgent problems in the area of disarmament, the Soviet Government at the same time points to concrete possibilities and methods of resolving these problems. The important propositions contained in the memorandum form the basis for intensification of talks on matters already the subject of international discussion, as well as for the initiation of new negotiations.

They are characterized both by high principledness and willingness to find a common ground of agreement with the interests and demands both of the

nonaligned nations (for example, the question of a peace zone on the Indian Ocean and in other regions, the convening of a special session of the UN General Assembly as a stage preparatory to a World Disarmament Conference) and the Western nations (for example, in matters pertaining to verification of adherence to the ban on underground nuclear weapons testing, the ban on chemical weapons and verification of their destruction).

The broad program of action toward disarmament contained in the memorandum constitutes concretization and further development of ideas, important for world peace, contained in the peace program of the 24th CPSU Congress and the program of the further campaign for peace of the 25th CPSU Congress. It was met with great interest by the entire world community, accepted as a constructive and realistic area for achieving significant progress on the road toward disarmament.

An important role could also be played by implementation of the Soviet proposal calling for a worldwide agreement against the use of force, with the pledge not to employ any arms whatsoever, including nuclear arms. The signing of such an agreement, a draft of which was submitted to the 31st Session of the General Assembly and will be worked on further by governments and the United Nations, would be of enormous importance for consolidation and universalization of the principle of nonutilization of force.

This would also signify the taking of an important step toward consolidating détente at a world level. Promoting consolidation of a climate of trust and international security, such a treaty would also promote all discussions and debate connected with the problem of disarmament. In addition, emphasizing the logical link between banning the use of force and the threat of force and efforts at disarmament, the agreement would incorporate a clearly formulated pledge to make every possible effort aimed at implementing effective means of diminishing military confrontation and achieving disarmament. The objective would be gradual progress toward universal and total disarmament.

Such an agreement would strengthen both political and legal preconditions for further efforts toward military détente and disarmament. Our support of these proposals, which are permeated with profound humanism, and our fervent desire to work consistently toward their achievement are based on a deep conviction that they constitute a broad program of effective steps toward peace and disarmament which is adequate to present conditions.

The campaign undertaken by the socialist nations toward a strategic goal -- consolidation and strengthening of political détente with détente in the military area, a campaign for peace, international security and disarmament, is not now and will not be easy. It is taking place on various fronts and with various degrees of intensity. It is first and foremost a struggle against the avowed opponents of disarmament -- reactionary and militaristic circles in the Western nations, as well as all those who reject a policy of détente and peace. In this struggle we are bound to the developing and nonaligned nations by convergent goals and interests in key problems of disarmament and security.

Efforts aimed at limiting the arms race and at disarmament will continue to be one of the principal tasks of Polish foreign policy as specified in the resolutions of the Sixth and Seventh PZPR congresses, in resolutions of the Parliament and government decisions. We are carrying out these tasks both through active participation in the Vienna talks and in the Geneva Committee, in the forum of the United Nations and International Atomic Energy Agency, as well as developing a two-way dialogue on these questions.

The vigorous nature of Polish diplomacy in the area of problems of disarmament and military détente derives from a fervent desire to implement the fundamental points of our country's socialist foreign policy, taking into consideration the feelings and aspirations of the Polish people. Broad, resolute support of the Second Stockholm Appeal by our people constitutes the best proof of this.

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DEFENSE TRAINING FOR CIVILIAN STRUCTURES OUTLINED

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[Article by Col Tripo Vucinic]

[Text] All the country's manpower, physical resources, equipment and other potential would be involved in any war our country might be compelled to wage. Virtually all citizens who are physically and mentally fit would be involved in some appropriate way in armed combat and other forms of struggle and resistance and at various jobs and tasks which facilitate the active waging of nationwide defensive warfare. It would be a total war for us, and because we would wage it everywhere and at every point, with all our human and physical potential, determinedly and without compromise to the point of ultimate victory, the country's preparation for nationwide defense must involve all the structures within society--the armed forces, government bodies and agencies, sociopolitical and other organizations, all social and public services, the economy, civil defense, the entire population (all ages and both sexes) and particularly young people. The universal preparation of the populace for nationwide defense presupposes at the same time that the several categories of the population are also being trained and equipped each in its own way--as a function of the manner in which they would be involved in nationwide defensive warfare. Actually, all-inclusive preparation of the population for nationwide defense by means of training represents one of the strategic issues in the context of our overall preparations, and the level of training is one of the very significant measures of society's readiness to defend itself in combat.

The right and duty of every Yugoslav to defend the country against an enemy have been formally set down in the Yugoslav Constitution and regulated in detail in the Law on National Defense. This at the same time signifies that every citizen has the right and duty to train and equip himself in advance to perform that honorable task of defending the country against an enemy, which emphasizes even more the importance of this task of the entire nation.

Our efforts to train and equip personnel fully, effectively and as soon as possible for waging nationwide defensive warfare are basically aimed in the following directions:

- a. preparations in the domain of political ideology, morale and psychological preparations;
- b. professional military training in the effective waging of armed combat and all other forms of struggle and resistance; and
- c. technical and specialized training of the populace in nationwide defense and social self-protection and in protection against the effect of present-day weapons, natural disasters and major accidents, so that every citizen is trained and equipped to perform the tasks of nationwide defense within the domain of his own vocational orientation and in conformity with his place and role as assigned in his war orders.

All of this is being done through a unified, comprehensive, and integrated system of indoctrination, training and drilling for nationwide defense, and that system is based on the following principles:

- i. that training should be based on a unified conception of nationwide defense and specifically on a unified strategy of armed combat;
- ii. that training should guarantee preparedness for and effectiveness in the most difficult variants of war, especially in waging the combined form of armed combat under the most difficult conditions;
- iii. that every category of the population should be so trained as to be effective as a unified whole in the total commitment of the community in warfare, which means that the training must in turn be unified and integrated; and
- iv. that the preparation, training and drilling of the population (all ages and both sexes) should mainly be conducted according to standard syllabi; the training programs and the organization of training must guarantee that every civilian group is effective in performing its war-time task, the programs should be linked to one another, so that each successive program begins where the previous one left off.

The system of training for nationwide defense constitutes an integrated system consisting of the following components:

- a. training in units of the armed forces;
- b. training of young people;
- c. training of personnel outside the armed forces;

- d. training of civil defense units, services and staffs; and
- e. training of the civilian population as such.

The Yugoslav People's Army organizes and conducts training of the armed forces as a whole. Its system of training is also the backbone for the preparation and training of all civilian structures for armed combat and for the training of young people for active involvement in armed combat.

The Unified and Integrated System for Indoctrination and Training of Young People

The defense and protection of the achievements of our revolution and in the development of self-management socialism are the most important tasks of the young generation and represent its deepest interests. Thanks to its youth and vitality, its commitment to socialism, its sense of responsibility for the country's future, its militancy, its readiness to make efforts and sacrifices, its level of education and its other features, our country's young generation is the most numerous and dynamic factor in nationwide defense and social self-protection. In this the experiences of the young people of all our nationalities and ethnic minorities in the National Liberation War, the sacrifices which they made, the exploits which they carried out, and the goals they were fighting for, following the lead of the older generations and the communists, provide young people with a revered model and give them a strong impetus.

Inspired by the example of the wartime and postwar generations of young Yugoslavs, brought up in a spirit of Yugoslav socialist patriotism and internationalism, and committed to the fullest as public spirited citizens who have a vital interest in the development of the social relations of socialist self-management, aware that socialism is one of the broadest processes taking place in the world and unquestionably represents the world's future--our young people of today display a readiness and determination to defend and preserve the achievements of the revolution--freedom, independence, integrity and our socialist system of self-management.

The place, role and type of involvement of our young people in nationwide defense depend on the following: their place and role in our socialist self-managed society; the conception and doctrine of nationwide defense; their numbers and their very marked psychophysical capabilities; the commitment, readiness and determination of young people regardless of social or ethnic origin to commit themselves completely, intensively and regardless of self to the defense of the country, above all in armed combat.

In view of their psychophysical and other capabilities, young people may be involved in the following aspects of defending the country:

- i. in armed combat,

- ii. in forms of struggle and active resistance that do not involve the bearing of arms,
- iii. in civil defense and the service for observation, alerting, intelligence and reporting, and
- iv. in the country's economic and sociopolitical life.

Over the last several years the Federal Secretariat for National Defense, together with all other responsible public entities, has been working very intensively to devise, establish and administer an integrated and unified system for training young people for nationwide defense. There were several reasons for this, but they all contain as an implication that preparation of young people for nationwide defense is one of the most important aspects of society's overall preparedness for its own defense.

First of all, in terms of programs, the contents of syllabi, organization and results, the indoctrination and training of young people for nationwide defense in the past did not altogether conform to our needs, capabilities and requirements as a society, nor were they in accord with the place, role and psychophysical capabilities of young people. Training was not sufficiently specialized and meaningful, nor did it afford the necessary breadth of knowledge and skills, and it was not organized on a uniform basis.

The lessons from the National Liberation War were not given sufficient attention in the training of young people, particularly with regard to experiences and lessons that have to do with the age of fighters in the National Liberation War and the numbers of people involved. This situation became increasingly untenable, since the psychophysical capabilities, motivation and determination of young people to defend the country--assuming good training--are enormous. In Yugoslavia today we have about 550,000 young men in the ages of 16, 17 and 18 (those ages, that is, which were most numerous in the National Liberation War), which is not to mention young women, and from the psychophysical standpoint these young men are completely fit; to this number we should also add about 150,000 students in higher education who will do their required military service after graduation, between the ages of 23 and 28. This group of about 700,000 young men was not sufficiently trained for armed combat. Even countries with considerably greater human potential do not renounce such a force.

In June 1975 the federal secretary for national defense set forth the basic principles to govern the indoctrination, training and equipping of young people for nationwide defense, and those principles essentially represent a unified and integrated system. That unified and integrated system for indoctrinating, educating and equipping young people, which has now been established, is based on the ideological positions of the

LCY, particularly those contained in the decisions of the Third Conference and 10th Congress of the LCY; on the basic conceptions and programs concerning preparation of young people for nationwide defense and social self-protection which have been adopted by the SFRY Presidency and the Presidium of the LCY Central Committee; and on the conception and doctrine of nationwide defense and specifically its strategy of armed combat.

The overall and basic goal to be achieved by putting that system in practice is to prepare and equip young people--in terms of moral and political outlook, psychophysical conditioning, specialized skills and particularly professional military training--so that they can successfully perform all tasks in nationwide defense, above all in armed combat. This is achieved through all aspects of indoctrination and education and other activities and through the training young people are given in the separate subject matters of defense and protection, and also through the training they are given in military knowledge and skills.

The system has established both overall goals and tasks and also separate goals and tasks for the training and indoctrination of young men and women under age 16 and between the ages of 16 and 18, and also for providing special military knowledge and development of skills in 17-year-old men so as to equip them for effective involvement in armed combat. The goals and tasks have been set for training university students of both sexes; provision has been made for this to be done primarily in accordance with their vocational orientation, in the course of their program of study, in such a way that they can effectively perform the peacetime tasks of nationwide defense in their own field and apply the specialized knowledge they have acquired in wartime. Aside from this overall task, male students are also to receive training and drills in military knowledge and skills to the point where they can all engage in armed combat, which presupposes that they will be fit to participate effectively in units of the armed forces immediately after completing their training. Students in the field of medicine, dentistry, pharmacy, veterinary science and law enforcement, and students of maritime and harbor pilot schools, however, would be trained for the duties they would perform in wartime in view of the nature of their vocation.

The basic characteristics of the system are as follows: young people are trained for nationwide defense according to age and in accord with their psychophysical capabilities and the manner of their involvement in nationwide defense (there are three separate parts making up a single entity: under age 16, between the ages of 16 and 18, and university students); the indoctrination and training of young people for nationwide defense have been incorporated into our overall system of education, fitted into it so as to constitute an integral part of it, and all aspects are covered--political ideology, morale, psychophysical aspects, specialized aspects, and particularly professional military aspects; training for nationwide defense is mandatory and organized for young men

and women of all ages, regardless of whether they are attending school or not; all phases and levels of education (training) for nationwide defense (by ages and according to the type of school) follow one upon the other and are interconnected, the subject matter of each succeeding one takes up where the previous one left off (from elementary school all the way to training in the Yugoslav People's Army [YPA]); the subject matter in the syllabi and curricula is the same at all levels of training throughout Yugoslavia, the textbooks are identical, a matter which has been guaranteed thanks to specific social compacts concluded among the socialist republics, socialist autonomous provinces, universities and the Federal Secretariat for National Defense; training to acquire specific military knowledge and skills is organized and conducted for 17-year-old men and first-year university students in youth training units organized by the YPA.

The entities responsible for training have also been designated: the bodies of self-management of schools and educational authorities are responsible for programs conducted in elementary and secondary schools of all types and levels; opstina agencies competent for matters of national defense are responsible for organizing and conducting the training of young people who are not attending secondary schools; and the YPA organizes and conducts training to provide the specific military knowledge and skills for 17-year-old men and first-year university students. Moreover, an important role is also played in indoctrinating and training young people for nationwide defense by sociopolitical and civic organizations, athletic organizations, technical societies and other organizations, as well as by the news media.

The Purpose of Training and the Results Being Achieved

The aim of indoctrinating and training young people for nationwide defense has three essential aspects: the ideological and political aspect, which involves indoctrination of young people so that they are aware that they are defending our socialist self-managed community; morale, which means instilling in young people the conviction that the conception of nationwide defense is sound and realistic; the professional aspect, which means equipping young people to perform their wartime tasks, above all to take part in armed combat. Thanks to this system for indoctrinating, training and preparing young people for defense, we will have about 700,000 young men trained to the point where they can take part in armed combat, and they will include about 150,000 students who will be able to receive their war orders assigning them to units of the armed forces immediately upon completion of training, which means either 4 or 6 years before they do their required military service. Moreover, training within the YPA, precisely because it relies on the way training has been organized for young people before they are drafted, can now meet the most up-to-date requirements, since before being drafted young men have gone through a 350-hour program, or 590 hours of instruction if they are university students. That fact alone will have an important impact in improving the combat readiness of YPA units at the time of induction and in the initial period

of training. Realistic conditions have been created for training in training units and supplemental units to be briefer under wartime conditions and to speed up the manning of wartime units. The new system of training has made it possible to supply trained young men more easily to the wartime units of regions which for one reason or another do not have enough military manpower. Thanks to the thoroughness of the subject matter and the way the training of young people for nationwide defense has been organized, and especially thanks to the training to acquire military knowledge and skills which is organized by the YPA, a great contribution is being made to the efforts of the entire society to provide young people with ideological, political and moral training; this is the assessment of all public entities in Yugoslavia. Moreover, initial experience in administering the new system of youth training is confirming the realism of the assessment that this is one of the most important efforts to be made in preparing the entire society for defense, and in this effort the armed forces have important duties and responsibilities.

Law has set forth the authorities and duties of all public entities in administering the system of training for young people in all categories, in both the overall and specific aspects: sociopolitical communities, schools, universities and communities of higher educational institutions, agencies of the armed forces--from the Federal Secretariat for National Defense to the commands of units assigned to youth training, territorial defense staffs, and then bodies competent for national defense in the socialist republics and autonomous provinces, in opstinas, and so on. At the very outset of administering the entire system precision and definition of duties have shown great advantages in all phases and in all functions--from the keeping of records to the providing of weapons for professional military training. In short, all agencies and organizations in the armed forces and in the civilian sector have their established responsibilities for training and equipping young people for nationwide defense, and they are required to work out those duties and authorities and bring them into conformity with the ideological positions taken by the LCY, with legal statutes, with interrepublic compacts concerning the uniform basic principles governing the training of young people, with bylaws, and with other acts.

Law has also set forth obligations concerning the training of young men and male university students in military disciplines and skills, which are financed by the Federation, that is, by the Federal Secretariat for National Defense. On the basis of the authority vested in him, the federal secretary for national defense has elaborated in detail the legal provisions in the Regulation on Organization, Conduct and Duration of Training of Young People in the Military Disciplines and Skills, specifically stating that this training is organized and conducted in designated units of the YPA; that those subject to this training are young men in the calendar year when they reach age 17 and young men in secondary schools in the calendar year in which they complete their second year in that school--regardless of age, and male students in the calendar year

in which they complete their first year of higher education; that all training taken together may last a maximum of 25 days; that the trainees shall wear soldiers' uniforms with special insignia, and that their deportment shall be governed by a special instruction issued by the YPA chief of staff; and so on.

In 1976 about 50,000 students were summoned to YPA units and centers for training. The training was conducted in July and August. Visits were made by the highest military and republic leaders, by university rectors and prorectors, and also by other distinguished public and political figures. During these visits, which included informal conversations with students and officer-instructors and the attending of training classes on exercise grounds and ranges, it was noted that the political, psychological and organizational preparations for this training at universities, in sociopolitical communities and in the YPA had been carried out effectively and that the success achieved in training is better than good. It has been demonstrated without question that the students are highly motivated for this training. Lacking practically all previous experience, they were ready to fulfill this obligation and go through training, in which they achieved exceptional results. The students particularly appreciated the humane and comradely attitude of the officers, the order, the discipline, the organization of living and working conditions, and the great benefit which all of this will have to the organization of activities in the university, aspects also emphasized by university professors and distinguished leaders who visited the training sessions. Since throughout the work with young men and students undergoing training in YPA units the emphasis is on training in military disciplines and skills, the entire organization of their life and work is bent toward that goal. Better results have been achieved where officers were well prepared and where the emphasis in training was on practical exercises, provided logistic support was adequate. Thus experience has been gained which, among other things, will help to improve the organization of training in 1977, when it is expected that more than 200,000 young citizens will be going through this training.

The Basic Principles of Indoctrination and Training of Young People for Nationwide Defense, the Regulation on Organization, Conduct and Duration of Training of Young People in the Military Disciplines and Skills, social compacts concerning uniform basic components in the training of young people for nationwide defense in schools of all types and at all levels, and other official documents have set forth the duties and authorities of all entities responsible for the training and indoctrination of young people for nationwide defense. Because of the size of this responsibility and its crucial importance, mutual obligations have also been defined in detail in view of the fact that administration of the system of youth training is so integrated on a functional basis that every participant depends on the activity of all other participants.

Throughout the system the YPA has taken on important obligations; its place and role in this task as a whole derive from the place and role which the regular armed forces have in overall preparation of society for defense of the country. In actuality the very complex and crucial job, one of particular public importance, has been carried out in this field by setting up the integrated system of youth training and the still narrower system for providing professional military training to university students; this has considerably enhanced the public standing of the YPA and the Federal Secretariat for National Defense. Following the first analyses of practical experience, the judgment in the Federal Secretariat for National Defense is that the future operation and results of this system will depend on the consistency, persistence and vigor of all the competent public entities, and above all the YPA, which is why the Federal Secretariat for National Defense is requiring that commands, units and individuals take the most responsible attitude toward this task, which is one of particular public interest, especially since the system for training young people and the YPA's authorities and duties in that system make this in many respects a new field of YPA activity, which is why a certain time and a certain amount of experience will be necessary for certain agencies of the Federal Secretariat for National Defense and commands, units and institutions of the YPA, sociopolitical communities and their agencies, and especially educational and national defense agencies to properly organize themselves and add to their staffs. It is a very big job and for the Federal Secretariat for National Defense and the YPA a new one, and their obligations and responsibilities are thereby greater. It is a question of performing tasks and discharging obligations which are extremely important not only to the country's defense, but also to its stability. Jobs related to performance of these tasks fall within the domain of the Federal Secretariat for National Defense and the YPA by their very nature, and they will continue to perform them, but, on the basis of past experience, modern knowledge and society's new needs, they will improve and update their organization and make better use of their personnel and other potential. The work will be easier for YPA institutions in that new obligations will be assumed by the schools, the universities and educational and national defense agencies, but this will not diminish the need for their initiative and increasingly vigorous activity in developing overall activities in this field.

The Training of Personnel Outside the Armed Forces for Nationwide Defense

The term "personnel outside the armed forces" refers to all key figures in the civilian sector who are in administrative positions important to nationwide defense: in administrative agencies, public services, work organizations and other organizations, and so on. A still more restricted term is that of "personnel outside the armed forces of particular importance to nationwide defense," which refers to all personnel holding positions in agencies and organizations which are particularly important to nationwide defense, and within that group there is the category of "personnel of particular importance to combat." The importance of these

categories of personnel is extremely great from the standpoint of defense, since the capability and preparedness of personnel are the principal conditions for effective functioning of our entire system of nationwide defense in both peacetime and wartime. It is a question of whether senior officials and other personnel, from the highest to the lowest, from the Federation to the local community, are competent to successfully, professionally, skillfully, rationally and efficiently administer the relevant agencies and supervise the relevant tasks in the domain of nationwide defense. Actually, timely and complete attainment of an adequate level of training and preparedness of these categories of personnel for work on tasks of nationwide defense is a prerequisite for effective functioning of the nationwide defense system.

The Law on National Defense has set forth the obligations and defined in detail the basic rights related to the training of personnel outside the armed forces for nationwide defense. The entities principally responsible for that training--as to programming, organization, personnel support, material support, funding and other support and responsibilities--are sociopolitical communities (socialist republics and provinces and opstinas, as well as the Federation for its own agencies), and the various agencies and organizations of sociopolitical communities, and work organizations and other organizations. However, if this work is to proceed in an organized, meaningful, purposive and rational manner, and if success in that training is to be assured, an appropriate system must exist for that training, and, in view of that requirement, definite efforts are being made and steps are being taken toward the training of that personnel category; in conformity with the ever greater obligations and ever stricter requirements imposed by the conception of nationwide defense, that training must be increasingly well organized and must proceed ever more smoothly and efficiently.

A social compact concerning joint and uniform basic components of science teaching in the domain of nationwide defense in our educational institutions has set forth that highly qualified personnel will be trained for work on national defense projects during their regular course of study and advanced specialized training in university schools. These specialists, then, will by and large receive their training at the university by virtue of their study of all the scientific fields, disciplines and subjects in the curriculum, into which subject matter of importance to nationwide defense will be incorporated. The aim is for university-trained specialists to be equipped during the regular course of study to perform national defense tasks within their own professional field. The subject matter in the curricula of importance to nationwide defense is the same at all the country's higher educational institutions within the same specialized field. The signatories of the social compact have set forth the topics to be treated, which makes them mandatory; it also presupposes that later, depending on the nature of job assignments, there will be supplemental training, particularly in the case of senior officials.

Instructors to teach nationwide defense in schools and personnel who are to work on defense affairs outside the armed forces will receive their regular and advanced training in specialized courses of study in the university schools for nationwide defense. Five such schools were opened in the 1975/76 academic year, and 550 students were enrolled. An equal amount of progress is being made in the next academic year, with growth projected until needs have been met by filling about 10,000 positions which would be occupied by individuals with this background. One of the important problems in the regular and advanced training of professional personnel for work on matters of nationwide defense outside the armed forces is being solved by virtue of high standards in selection of candidates, in designing the curriculum, in mastery of the subject matter, and so on. Given the importance of this course of study and the breadth of the military disciplines and skills which the students of these schools acquire, it will be possible for some of the graduates to be enrolled in the armed forces, which has importance to the nation.

Some of the senior officials from the Federation and socialist republics and autonomous provinces are also receiving training under another arrangement; the Federal Secretariat for National Defense, by agreement with federal, republic and provincial agencies, is organizing and conducting a high level 1-month course in the National Defense School, where the students acquire basic knowledge concerning the conception and doctrine of nationwide defense. This makes it possible for them to get a view of the entire system of nationwide defense, which is one of the prerequisites for their effective supervision of matters in the field of nationwide defense within their own agencies. A similar shorter course is also being organized and conducted by the Civil Defense Center of the Federal Secretariat for National Defense; it is designed for bodies and agencies of opstinas, work organizations, and other organizations.

The socialist republics and autonomous provinces, or specifically their agencies and organizations, and then opstinas, work organizations, and other organizations are also organizing training for their own personnel to equip them to work on matters within the domain of nationwide defense; this is being done through various courses and seminars, through participation in exercises and war games conducted either independently or jointly with units of the armed forces.

By 1977, according to plans, a unified system is to be devised for training personnel to work on national defense affairs and tasks in peacetime and wartime; this should resolve all the issues, should designate which personnel are important to nationwide defense and which of those in turn are of particular importance to combat, should subdivide that category by specific fields and define the level of knowledge and skills which are to be mastered, should adopt syllabi and curricula for the various specialties; should set up the organizational framework for training, should settle matters of supply, funding, staffing, etc.

Training of Civil Defense Units and Services

The training of reservists of civil defense staffs, units and services has exceptional importance even from the standpoint of society's overall preparedness for nationwide defense. This training consists of basic training and supplemental training; basic training lasts between 50 and 100 hours, and supplemental training lasts for 30 hours per year.

Syllabi and curricula for basic and supplemental training for civil defense reservists, officers and staffs are adopted by the civil defense staff of the republic or autonomous province and the organization of associated labor, which are the principal entities responsible for the organization and conduct of training. They adapt the training programs to the present level of training, the specific features of the area and of the work organization, and to the specific tasks which the units and staffs will perform in wartime or in situations which arise following natural calamities and other major disasters.

The training and drilling of civil defense units are organized and conducted according to types of civil defense units as a function of whether they are general-purpose or special-purpose units. All members of a general-purpose civil defense unit are trained and drilled in all the disciplines of civil defense (rescue from rubble, furnishing the most urgent first aid to casualties, localization of new fires and extinguishing of small fires; decontamination of humans, livestock and equipment). Members of specialized units, on the other hand, are trained and drilled to perform tasks within that specialized area (firefighting, emergency medical aid, rescue, deactivation of explosives, defense against radioactive, chemical and biological agents, etc.).

The training and drilling of officers of civil defense units is one of the most important prerequisites for the full competence of civil defense, since the level of their competence and experience are a precondition for effective direction of civil defense units in civil defense and rescue operations. Civil defense officers receive their basic training as part of the regular training for their vocational specialties, and they receive supplemental training (advanced training) to perform specific duties in civil defense units through seminars and courses which are organized in the local community, the organization of associated labor, and the opstina. Courses and seminars are also organized for officers in certain categories at the level of the socialist republic or province or in the Civil Defense Center of the Federal Secretariat for National Defense, particularly for commanding officers of combined civil defense teams.

Great attention is also being paid to training and drilling civil defense staffs. Seminars and courses for civil defense commanders, chiefs of staff and other personnel in various disciplines in opstina civil defense staffs are organized in the Civil Defense Center of the Federal Secretariat for National Defense. The emphasis in the training of these people,

as reflected in the syllabi and curricula and in the actual training process, is on making them fit for operational and staff functions, that is, positions in which they would organize and prepare civil defense for work even under wartime conditions. In spite of the notable results achieved in the training of civil defense units, staffs and services, newer and higher requirements are being imposed, particularly concerning training which is important to combat, and for that reason uniform basic components of civil defense training need to be adopted.

Training and Drilling of the Civilian Population as a Separate Category

When we say the "civilian population as a separate category" we mean citizens of both sexes who have not been included in other forms of training for defense and protection. This training, by virtue of its content and goals, is an integral part of the general and entire system of training for nationwide defense outside the armed forces and consists of basic training and supplemental training.

The aim in training and drilling that portion of the population for nationwide defense in basic training is to prepare the public's morale, political outlook and psychology and to make people competent to perform the tasks of nationwide defense in peacetime and wartime according to their place, role, tasks and manner of involvement in nationwide defense. In basic training the public should be trained and drilled in active defense, the offering of all forms of resistance, the performance of civil defense measures--protection against various weapons, natural calamities and major disasters; the rendering of first aid to themselves and other injured persons and the sick; an understanding of the conception of nationwide defense, etc. The supplemental training is expected to familiarize the general public with new equipment and techniques and thereby to refresh the knowledge already acquired.

Training of the general public for nationwide defense was set up by the Law on National Defense. It was made mandatory and includes all males between the ages of 15 and 60 and all females between the ages of 15 and 55.

Basic training lasts a total of up to 40 hours of instruction, and supplemental training is a maximum of 10 hours per year. The syllabi and curricula and the organizational framework of that training are adopted by the competent bodies of the republic and autonomous provinces, and the actual training is conducted by the opstina. Uniform basic components of that training are being prepared in the Federal Secretariat for National Defense because of the importance of that training and the need to improve and update it on an ongoing basis.

In addition to the features we have noted and the overall system for training groups outside the armed forces, there are also other features which are important from the standpoint of training for nationwide

defense. Sociopolitical, public, athletic and other organizations, work organizations, the news media and public relations media also have their own programs for activity in the field of nationwide defense. These programs and plans are constantly being refreshed, the level of organization is being raised, the subject matter is being filled out, and discipline and persistence are being shown in carrying out those programs. In short, several systems and subsystems have been adopted in order to provide training for nationwide defense, and they all reflect the conception and doctrine of nationwide defense and are being administered on a uniform foundation. For that reason an agreement has been reached to work out an integrated and unified system of training which will have its own subsystems as soon as possible. Actually, it is already in place, though the work has not been completed, so that what remains is to fit it into a single overall system and reconcile, correct and supplement it as necessary.

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